

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6072
INFO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L JOHANNESBURG 1278

FROM MAYNES AND MOOSE

BELGRADE FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR US MZ
SUBJECT: MAPUTO MOOD

1. THE MAPUTO MOOD WAS MODERATION. SPEAKERS THE FINAL DAY ALL CITED AND PRAISED THE "SPIRIT OF MAPUTO." THE EAST EUROPEANS WERE SO DISMAYED THEIR SPOKESMAN THE FINAL DAY DISASSOCIATED THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES FROM "SOME PROVISIONS" OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT "EFFECTIVE" ENOUGH. WHY THIS HAPPENED IS IMPORTANT AND WASHINGTON MAY WISH TO TAKE THE REASONS INTO ACCOUNT AS WE PRESS AHEAD WITH OUR AFRICAN POLICY ON SEVERAL FRONTS.

2. THE WEST'S OWN BOLD INITIATIVE IN NAMIBIA DESERVES MUCH OF THE CREDIT. AFRICANS ARE UNDERSTANDABLY SUSPICIOUS OF ANY WESTERN INITIATIVE AFTER YEARS OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND DISILLUSIONMENT, BUT MANY OF THEM SEEM TO ALLOW FOR POSSIBILITY THAT THIS TIME IT IS DIFFERENT. PROMINENT IN THIS
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CAMP ARE THE TANZANIANS. VIRTUALLY EVERY MEMBER OF THE TANZANIAN DELEGATION POINTED OUT TO US THAT THE WORD HAS GONE OUT FROM DAR ES SALAAM THAT "THIS TIME THE AMERICANS MEAN IT." OUR INITIATIVE SEEMED SINCERE ENOUGH TO OTHER AFRICANS THAT THEY REVISED THE FINAL DECLARATION TO PLACE "PARTICULAR" STRESS ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 ON WHICH OUR STRATEGY IS BASED.

3. THE DECISION TO COME TO MAPUTO, THOUGH CONSIDERED A CALCULATED RISK AT THE TIME, PAID TREMENDOUS DIVIDENDS. WITH US ABSENT, THE RADICALS WOULD HAVE DOMINATED THE PROCEEDINGS. WITH US PRESENT, THE AFRICANS, ANXIOUS FOR CONSENSUS, WERE FORCED TO TAKE OUR VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT. THIS EXPERIENCE RAISES THE QUESTION OF WHETHER CONTINUOUS REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN KEY UN BODIES -- E.G. THE COMMITTEE OF 24 AND THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA -- REALLY MAKES SENSE.

4. ANOTHER EXPLANATION FOR THE NEW MOOD TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES RELATES TO THE PERSONALITIES AT THE TOP OF OUR GOVERNMENT. THE AFRICANS ARE PLEASED AND IMPRESSED TO SEE THE PRESIDENT'S EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS TRANSLATED INTO VIGOROUS SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE STRONG CIVIL RIGHTS BACKGROUND OF THE VICE PRESIDENT IS CITED WITH APPROVAL. AMBASSADOR YOUNG EXPLAINS TO AFRICAN LEADERS, WHO UNDERSTAND THE POINT IMMEDIATELY, THAT THE FIRST TIME HE MET CYRUS VANCE, THE SECRETARY WAS SERVING ON THE BOARD OF THE NAACP.

5. THE IMPACT OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG HIMSELF IS ELECTRIC. HE ENJOYS A VIRTUALLY UNPRECEDENTED ACCESS TO AFRICAN LEADERSHIP. HE IS WIDELY KNOWN AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC. IF WE HAVE THE WIT TO USE IT, HIS PERSONAL RAPPORT WITH AFRICAN LEADERS--MODERATE OR RADICAL--CAN ENORMOUSLY ENHANCE OUR COMMUNICATION WITH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS.

6. A FINAL EXPLANATION WAS THE LEADERSHIP SHOWN AT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFERENCE BY TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE. SALIM, THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR, IS ONE OF THE MOST SKILLED PROFESSIONALS IN CONFERENCE DIPLOMACY IN THE WORLD TODAY. HE KNOWS WHAT HE WANTS, ORGANIZES WELL, AND UNDERSTANDS THE PROCEDURES LEADING TO CONFERENCE SUCCESS OR FAILURE BETTER THAN ANYONE ELSE AROUND. HERE HIS GOAL WAS CONSENSUS AND MODERATION AND HE WAS SUCCESSFUL.

7. BUT IT WOULD BE WRONG TO IGNORE THE ROLE OF THE HOST COUNTRY. LIKE ALGERIA FOLLOWING ITS LIBERATION, MOZAMBIQUE ENJOYS EXTRAORDINARY PRESTIGE AMONG AFRICAN STATES WHICH EXCESSIVELY ADMIRE REVOLUTIONARY CREDENTIALS IN PART BECAUSE MOST CANNOT LEGITIMATELY CLAIM SUCH CREDENTIALS AS THEIR OWN. THUS, WHEN MOZAMBIQUE FINDS SOMETHING GOOD TO SAY ABOUT DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES AS WELL AS ARMED STRUGGLE, OTHERS LISTEN. THIS CONFERENCE MAY BE AN INDICATION THAT MOZAMBIQUE WILL PLAY THE KIND OF ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS WE HAVE COME TO EXPECT OF COUNTRIES LIKE YUGOSLAVIA AND ALGERIA. PERHAPS OUR DIPLOMACY SHOULD BEGIN TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THIS.

8. LEST THE DEPARTMENT CONCLUDE THAT THIS EXERCISE WAS PREDESTINED TO SUCCESS, WE WOULD POINT OUT THAT THERE WAS NO GUARANTEE THAT THE TANZANIANS AND THE MOZAMBICANS WOULD BE ABLE TO CONTROL THE CONFERENCE TO THE END. TO THE LAST MINUTE, WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT SUDDEN UNEXPECTED RADICAL DEMANDS. WE STILL FACE THE DIFFICULT DECISIONS OF DEVELOPING A COMMON WESTERN POSITION TOWARDS THIS CONFERENCE'S FOLLOW-UP (THOUGH THIS IS A PROBLEM WE WOULD HAVE FACED IN ANY EVENT). FINALLY, OUR SUCCESS AT MAPUTO, THE MONDALE-VORSTER VISIT, THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT IN LOS ANGELES, HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY RAISED EXPECTATIONS THROUGHOUT AFRICA. IF WE FAIL TO DELIVER THIS TIME, THE REPERCUSSIONS WILL BE SEVERE. THESE CAVEATS NOTWITHSTANDING, WE SUGGEST THE MAPUTO MOOD MAY HAVE SOME LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE AND WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT WE BEGIN RE-THINKING SOME OF OUR ASSUMPTIONS IN LIGHT OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED.

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